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REMOVE SUSPICION—

End the arms race

THE time has come to recognise that there is no possibility of controlling an arms race other than by abandoning it, say the Peace Pledge Union in a new leaflet calling for unilateral disarmament.

Entitled "Scrap the Lot," it will be available at the mass Disarmament Rally in the Central Hall next week, announced on this page.

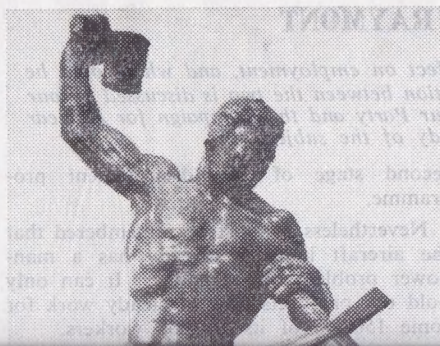
Examining earlier disarmament proposals, the leaflet records:

"In 1927 . . . Litvinov . . . presented a plan for complete disarmament. . . The plan involved simultaneous disarmament in all States by successive stages during a four-year period and a draft Convention of 63 articles. The proposals, however, were not taken seriously.

"Now, 30 years later, the world has been presented with another plan for total disarmament, once again by Russia. Mr. Khrushchev's proposals are also based upon a four-year period, to be carried out in three stages.

"He has categorically stated that: 'We (Russia) are for genuine disarmament under control, but we are against control without disarmament,' and he has explained that 'so long as disarmament is conceived only as partial disarmament, and it is assumed that some armaments will remain after the conclusion of the disarmament agreements, States would still retain the material possibility of launching an attack.'

ARYSS OF WAR



NEGROES: MASS DIRECT ACTION

'THEY AREN'T AFRAID ANY MORE'

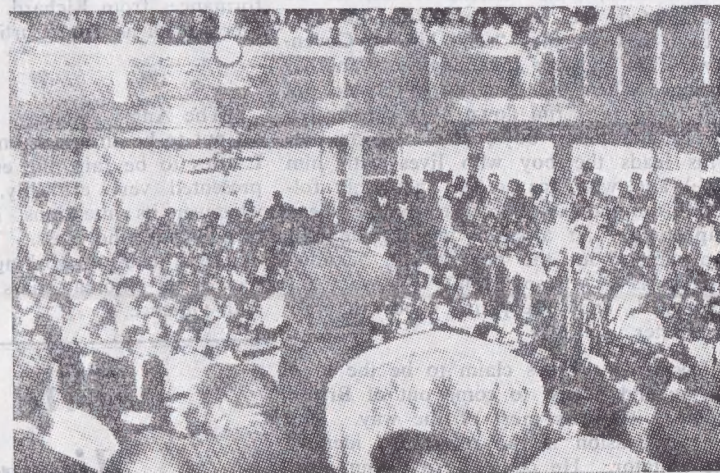
NON-VIOLENT DIRECT ACTION IS SPREADING SWIFTLY ACROSS THE SOUTHERN STATES OF THE USA AS A MEANS OF ENDING THE COLOUR BAR. LATEST REPORTS SAY THAT THERE HAVE BEEN DIRECT ACTION DEMONSTRATIONS IN NEARLY EVERY MAJOR CITY IN THE SOUTH.

At least 1,000 Negroes have been arrested for breaking state "laws" of one kind or another.

The main aim of the movement so far has been to challenge segregation at lunch counters. The practice in the South is for Whites to eat sitting down, while Negroes eat standing up. Most of the demonstrations have taken the form of Negroes entering the premises, sitting down and asking for service. If they are not served they remain until closing time. Marches and pickets are being held in support of the "sit-ins." There are also indications that the movement is extending its activity; in Memphis 40 Negroes were arrested last Sunday for entering public libraries which ban Negroes, and some churches which practise segregation have been picketed.

The present movement began quite spontaneously on Feb. 1, when four Negro students sat down at a lunch counter in Greensboro, North Carolina. They were refused service so they waited for an hour until the counter closed. Although there was no concerted organisation, their example was followed by many groups of Negroes (often with the support of liberal whites) until the biggest Negro anti-segregation movement the South has ever seen had come into existence.

The students have been the spearhead of the demonstrations. Said one Montgomery white:



Montgomery, Alabama, churches have become centres for briefing on non-violence. After a white man beat a Negro woman with a baseball bat, 1,000 Negroes marched in silence to the capitol where they prayed and sang the "Star Spangled Banner."

wrong" to bar Negroes from one part of a store while serving them in another. He said he would appoint a state bi-racial committee on racial relations.

Other reactions have been on more traditional Southern lines. Governor Patterson of Alabama said: "If they keep this up

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"He has categorically stated that: 'We (Russia) are for genuine disarmament under control, but we are against control without disarmament,' and he has explained that 'so long as disarmament is conceived only as partial disarmament, and it is assumed that some armaments will remain after the conclusion of the disarmament agreements, States would still retain the material possibility of launching an attack.'

ABYSS OF WAR

"He went on to say: 'The task is to find a lever, grasping which mankind could be stopped from sliding into the abyss of war. At present just one thing is necessary, and that is to rule out the very possibility of wars being unleashed.'

"Speaking of the insuperable deadlock over all questions of Control and Inspection, he made this important statement: 'The Soviet Government has come to the firm conviction that the way out of the deadlock should be sought along the road of general and complete disarmament. It is general and complete disarmament that would remove all barriers that were raised during considerations of questions of partial disarmament and control. If disarmament is comprehensive and complete then when it is attained control will also be general and complete.'

The leaflet points out that this is the whole crux of the matter: total disarmament on moral grounds must inevitably remove suspicion, and when suspicion is removed, control and inspection become irrelevant and unnecessary.

The leaflet continues:

[] ON BACK PAGE



The beating of a sword into a ploughshare remains the symbol of the universal desire for disarmament even in the nuclear age.

Aspects of disarmament are discussed in this issue on pages two and six. A call for total disarmament by Britain will be made at the Central Hall rally announced below.

The sculpture by Evgeny Vuchetic (above) was presented to UNO by the Soviet Government.

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The students have been the spearhead of the demonstrations. Said one Montgomery white:

"Today's young Negro is a far cry from his grandfather and father. The older Negro people in the South were brought up in rural areas, lived there all their lives and soon learned that the white man had absolute control over them. Today's students have never had a chance to learn that fear. They have been raised in bigger towns and cities, have travelled more, have had more contact with the world.

"They aren't afraid any more" (our italics).

One of the students who was expelled from Alabama State College for taking part in a sit-in said:

"My grandfather had only prayer to help him. I have prayer and education. We have been educated until we cannot adjust to the Southern way of life. We have to move, to work with the white man until we become not a minority but a part of the whole."

The reactions of white people have so far been mixed. Some stores immediately abandoned segregated eating practices. In Florida Governor Collins said on television that he thought it "unfair and morally

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wrong" to bar Negroes from one part of a store while serving them in another. He said he would appoint a state bi-racial committee on racial relations.

Other reactions have been on more traditional Southern lines. Governor Patterson of Alabama said: "If they keep this up they are going to find what they are looking for—which is trouble."

The states of Georgia, Mississippi and Virginia hastily passed harsh anti-trespassing laws after the first wave of "sit-ins." Police and white mobs have tried to break up demonstrations. In Orangeburg, South Carolina, police and firemen used tear gas and hoses to break up a march of 1,000 Negroes.

Gestapo methods

In Montgomery, a white crowd which surrounded Negro demonstrators was so menacing that the leaders of the demonstration, two pacifist clergymen, were sure that their lives were in danger.

"In my mind," said one of them, the Rev. Robert E. Du Bose, "I had given up everything, my wife, my children, my life."

In a message to President Eisenhower, the Rev. Martin Luther King said that in Montgomery "Gestapo-like methods are being used by the police and the city authorities to intimidate Negroes."

The National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People has called

● ON BACK PAGE

DISARMAMENT: Let it begin with us

Victor GOLLANCZ

The Rev. Dr. Donald SOPER

Michael TIPPETT

Stuart MORRIS

Dame Sybil THORNDIKE

Sybil MORRISON

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, THURSDAY, MARCH 31, 8 p.m.

ADMISSION FREE. Some reserved seats at 2s. 6d.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1 EUS 5501

Bookstall and buffet from 6.30 p.m.

The violent mass

ALAN LOVELL reviews

The Angry Silence. Showing at the Plaza Cinema, London. Directed by Guy Green.

MANY of the activities of British trade unionists need criticism. "The Angry Silence" sets out to give some.

The film is the story of an unofficial strike, called by a shop steward acting on the orders of an unidentified political agitator who, in turn, gets his orders from "London." A few men refuse to join the strike and stay at work for a few days. They only come out when their homes are attacked, windows broken, and bikes and cars destroyed by some "teddy boy" strikers.

One man, Tom Curtis, refuses to be intimidated. He stays on. When the men return to work they "send him to Coventry." The agitator then engineers another strike. When the man doesn't come out this time, he is run down by a car, beaten up by the teddy boys, and loses an eye. This leads the boy who lives with him (Joe) and who has so far sheepishly followed the majority to realise what has been happening. At a strike meeting he tells the men about the beating up, acknowledges his own responsibility for what has happened, and everything ends happily ever after.

Despite the film's claim to be the most daring and honest to come out of British studios, it cheats most of the way. The biggest evasion is the refusal to identify the agitator. He could be a Communist; he could be the agent of an enemy power. Whoever he is, he is a most improbable character. He has the constant fixed stare by which one always recognises political agitators in films and he is rarely seen anywhere but in telephone boxes taking or giving orders.

of the personal scenes are handled. One feels that the director responds to the violence much more strongly than he does to the people.

The best points of the film are incidental. There is one very good picture of two journalists, one local and the other from a popular national paper, and the way their stories exaggerate the incident. Michael Craig gives an excellent performance as Joe. Despite the phoney heroics at the end, the impression of a weak good-natured person whose irresponsibility may have terrifying consequences remains because of Craig's sensitive acting. There are also performances from Richard Attenborough and Pier Angeli as Tom Curtis and his wife.

"The Angry Silence" obviously did not set out to be an attack on the trade unions. It tries to be fair; the employers are also presented very critically. But the film, whatever its intentions, is not about one man against the mass. The centre of the film is a fear of working people who are seen as an inhuman mass closely associated with violence.



The last scene in "The Angry Silence." Joe tells his workmates the truth about what has happened—an acknowledgement of responsibility or conventional film heroics? Photo: British Lion.

This fear is not new in English literature. It had its effect on the nineteenth century novel. That it is still around, and that it is able to destroy a work of art in the way it destroys "The Angry Silence" is surely something to think about.

Might it be not "nationalisation," but a view of ordinary people as a "violent mass" that helps to keep Conservative Governments in power? And what are we going to do about that?

The economic consequences of nuclear disarmament

By DAVID J. RAYMONT

This problem has two aspects: the effect on employment, and what could be done with the money saved. Here, the relation between the two is discussed by our contributor, an active member of the Labour Party and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, who has made a special study of the subject.

IN our enthusiasm to beat swords into ploughshares we are apt to ignore some of the transitional economic problems which might arise from nuclear disarmament in this country and to concentrate on the moral and political aspects.

second stage of any disarmament programme.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the aircraft industry already has a manpower problem on its hands. It can only hold out prospects now of steady work for some 150,000 of its 240,000 workers.

saving and possibly even increasing the arms bill.

One of the arguments used to justify the increased reliance on the nuclear deterrent contained in the 1957 White Paper was that it would enable the arms bill to be kept some £200,000,000 a year lower!

Against these arguments, however, must be placed the probable psychological effect of nuclear disarmament.

It is by no means unreasonable to hope that the impact on public opinion of nuclear disarmament, whether unilateral or multilateral, would bring the whole subject of disarmament to the fore as a question of major public interest, and thereby trigger off a chain reaction of demands for

the agitator. He could be a Communist; he could be the agent of an enemy power. Whoever he is, he is a most improbable character. He has the constant fixed stare by which one always recognises political agitators in films and he is rarely seen anywhere but in telephone boxes taking or giving orders.

The portrait of the shop steward has similar contradictions. At first he seems a straightforward, militant trade unionist, but by the end of the film he is a complete dupe of whatever organisation he belongs to, more concerned with obeying orders than with the men's welfare.

These two get the men out on unofficial strike twice. We never know how they do it; the only reasons given are lack of lavatory paper and a very vague rumour about sackings. The film can only get away with this by showing the men consistently as an undifferentiated mass, ready to follow the shop steward wherever he leads them, without asking any questions.

The only exception to this picture of the men are the teddy boys, who are shown in some detail. There is no bother about their motives; they join the strike just for a "giggle." But just because they are shown in some detail they become the representatives of the men and by the end of the film they are co-operating actively with the shop steward.

Now they are complete caricatures—the kind of teddy boys who belong only in the pages of the Daily Sketch—ready to go to the extremes of violence for a strike about which they care nothing. I could take smashed windows and broken bikes but when a car was burnt I laughed. This part of the film belonged to the Hollywood gangster films of the thirties.

This violence, however, remains long after one has seen the film. It is heavily played up by fast cutting, extra loud sound effects, etc. Presumably the makers felt they had to make the film exciting before it would be acceptable to their audience. They have done this even though the violence destroys a good deal of the reality of the film. To take only one example, Joe is several times introduced by close-ups of his boot kicking off the motor bike. One immediately thinks of a character from "The Wild One," but in fact he is just the opposite—passive and indecisive.

The importance of the violence is exaggerated by the flat conventional way most

Disarmament

By DAVID J. RAYMONT

This problem has two aspects: the effect on employment, and what could be done with the money saved. Here, the relation between the two is discussed by our contributor, an active member of the Labour Party and the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament, who has made a special study of the subject.

IN our enthusiasm to beat swords into ploughshares we are apt to ignore some of the transitional economic problems which might arise from nuclear disarmament in this country and to concentrate on the moral and political aspects.

The result is a growing feeling among many people, including many trade unionists, that the arms race is now self-generating and that to stop it would precipitate a crippling slump and unemployment.

To counter this argument we must look more deeply into the subject and search through the maze of official security and obscurity for the facts.

The switch on civil uses

WHAT about the people who count? Only about 250,000 of the 2,000,000 in this country employed on arms manufacture would be affected by a decision to abandon the Bomb. A relatively small percentage of these are employed by the Atomic Energy Authority for warlike purposes and would present no employment problem, since the Chairman of the Authority has publicly stated that if bomb manufacture ceased they could rapidly be absorbed on civil programmes.

What of the remainder? They are mainly the skilled workers and technicians in the relatively few large electronic and aircraft firms plus the many small sub-contractors making specialised equipment, components, etc. Despite their high profits, the uncertainties of defence and the rapid rate of obsolescence have led many of these firms to spread their eggs in more than one basket.

In a recent Sunday Times article Graham Hutton pointed out that "few private firms depend as to 10 per cent on armaments or defence orders (e.g., clothing, shoes)." They have in fact deliberately diversified their activities, and with some of the measures described later in this article could surely overcome their temporary difficulties—certainly by the time we have got to the

second stage of any disarmament programme.

Nevertheless, it must be remembered that the aircraft industry already has a manpower problem on its hands. It can only hold out prospects now of steady work for some 150,000 of its 240,000 workers.

The danger to small firms

DANGERS also arise where some of the larger firms have confined this 10 per cent to smaller factories away from the large industrial centres where alternative employment could be found. These smaller factories and the smaller firms which have mushroomed out on defence contracts could be faced with a critical situation and acute local unemployment. The number of jobs in, for example, Stevenage related to defence contracts must be unhealthily high. For this problem direct Government assistance and even compensation may be necessary from the defence budget savings.

These savings are generally placed at £300-350 million per annum if we stop the production and development of nuclear weapons and their means of delivery.

Mr. Watkinson in a recent defence debate confirmed that our nuclear deterrent costs 10 per cent of our defence budget, which has risen to £1,629,000,000 for 1960. A similar percentage is spent on protecting the deterrent. It is on the means of delivery where the greatest savings will be made. Blue Streak is now expected to cost £500,000,000, and three other missiles originally estimated to cost £8,000,000 have, according to the Auditor General, now reached £110,000,000.

Conflicting ideas on economy

TWO contradictory possibilities should be noted at this stage. Firstly, the unpalatable view advanced by many military thinkers, and reflected in the recent British Council of Churches Report, "Christians and Atomic War," that a reduction in nuclear weapons would have to be offset by an increase in more expensive conventional forces, thus wiping out any financial

arms bill.

One of the arguments used to justify the increased reliance on the nuclear deterrent contained in the 1957 White Paper was that it would enable the arms bill to be kept some £200,000,000 a year lower!

Against these arguments, however, must be placed the probable psychological effect of nuclear disarmament.

It is by no means unreasonable to hope that the impact on public opinion of nuclear disarmament, whether unilateral or multilateral, would bring the whole subject of disarmament to the fore as a question of major public interest, and thereby trigger off a chain reaction of demands for further arms reductions everywhere in the world.

How savings could be spent

THE resources available from nuclear disarmament can be channelled in four ways. Firstly, income tax could be cut as a direct incentive to increased personal consumption. This would certainly make disarmament popular with the taxpayer but would throw the strain mainly on the private sector of the economy at a time when Government planning would be needed to assist the temporarily depressed areas.

Secondly, the savings could be used to give a much-needed fillip to Government social expenditure—pensions, health services, etc. Thirdly, State expenditure on communications, hospitals (according to a recent TV broadcast one Atlas missile shot from Cape Canaveral is the equivalent of one fully equipped £12,000,000 hospital), schools, technical colleges and the peaceful applications of nuclear power.

It is in the last-named field that many of the industries affected by disarmament could be most directly and rapidly helped by civilian orders using the same raw materials and techniques. Existing research and design teams could of course be retained for these new purposes.

Lastly, the resources saved by disarmament could be directed to providing aid to the under-developed countries. As one simple example of the vast possibilities of this, it has been estimated that 25,000 acres of barren land could be irrigated for the cost of one medium range missile.

One could enumerate such possibilities indefinitely, but the point to emphasise is that the economic problems consequent upon disarmament are not insurmountable if tackled with the same vigour as the nations are prepared to give to war itself.

By Sybil Morrison

Patriotism not enough

Men should be forewarned and trained against what they may have to face (as prisoners of war). Above all they will need faith in the cause for which they are fighting and faith in themselves.—John de Quidd, Daily Telegraph, March 21.

THE publication of a book* which examines and endeavours to explain the reason for the collaboration with Communism of large numbers of American prisoners-of-war in Korea seems likely to cause something of a furore in this country as well as in the United States.

The Sunday Times' comment, with its dramatic shout of BRAINWASHING AND BETRAYAL; The Observer, more quietly with THE CRACK UP, and The Daily Telegraph's sober COLLABORATORS IN THE MAKING, all emphasise the misery and discomfort of the prisoners, and the strain of their uncertainty as to the reasons for the war.

The Daily Telegraph concludes its review of the book with the portentous discovery that those who go to war must have faith in their cause, and The Sunday Times unwittingly comes to the crux of the matter in stating categorically that "The average G.I. lacked enthusiasm for the war against North Korea: *neither these nor their allies had bombed Pearl Harbour.*" (Italics are mine!)

These last words are two-edged, and clearly the commentator failed to notice that razor other edge; the edge which indicates that indoctrination cuts both ways. It is almost certain that the people of the United States would not have supported any Government which, after the First World War, engaged in yet another war in Europe to assist Britain to defeat Germany. Pearl Harbour was, in fact, a propaganda necessity; without it patriotism was not enough.

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It is not only Communists who undertake the business of indoctrination; any Government that goes to war must induce its people, and its conscripted servicemen to believe in the absolute rightness of their own country in resisting an unscrupulous enemy. This is usually achieved either by

CONSTRUCTIVE WORK AND STUDY: AMERICAN QUAKERS PLAN THEIR PROGRAMME OF

WORK CAMPS AND SOCIAL SERVICE

EVERY year more people seek the constructive work, comradeship and understanding that comes of toiling side by side with others from many lands in international voluntary work camps. And nowhere has the work camps zeal caught on more than in America.

One of the chief organisers of American work camps is the Quakers, and their programme for this summer is certain to prove attractive, particularly to the young.

Activities from June 24-August 19 include: construction work in an Indian reservation by the Tule River, California; building work at a settlement school in two rural mountain communities at Hindman and Decoy, Kentucky; and development of community recreation at an Indian reservation at Fort Defiance, Arizona.

This summer, too, some 70 American volunteers will join camps overseas in Europe and the Middle East, while about 40 additional volunteers who may be in Europe or Japan can apply for assignments.

Volunteers are preferred to have had at least one year at college and are expected to find as much as possible towards the cost of \$135 maintenance.

For high school students

The Quakers are also sponsoring four summer-long work camps for high school students, aged 16 or older.

Applications in the USA for any of these projects should be made to the nearest of the following offices of the American Friends Service Committee:

AUSTIN 1, Texas, 1705 North Congress Avenue.
CAMBRIDGE 38, Massachusetts, 130 Brattle Street, P.O. Box 247.

CHICAGO 7, Illinois, 300 West Congress Parkway.
DAYTON 6, Ohio, 915 Salem Avenue.

Britain is organising a conference to examine the potentiality of work camps.

It will be held from April 8-10 at the Furzedown Training College, Welham Rd., London, S.W.17. Applications should be made soon to The International Service Dept. of UNA, 25 Charles St., London, W.1.



PEACE NEWS, March 25, 1960—3

DAVID v. GOLIATH

READERS interested in prize-fighting, duelling or other forms of personal combat will doubtless recall a famous one-round scrap which took place about 1000 B.C. between a Philistine and an Israelite.



What distinguished it from most single combats was the disparity in size between the combatants. According to reports (1 Samuel, 17, 4) the heavy-weight champ. was 6 cubits and a span tall (about 10 feet), whereas repeated references to the youthfulness of his opponent justify us in placing him in the bantam class.

Naturally the betting was all on Two-ton Golly, but to the consternation of his backers he was knocked out in the only blow of the fight. What they hadn't noticed was that the Israeli Kid had the longer reach.

Another thing they hadn't noticed was his confidence (ibid, 32,37).

I am reminded of this contest whenever I consider the disparity in size between the money spent on preparing for war and that spent on preventing war.

The cost of war preparations amounts to 12s. per week per head of the population. Pending statistical corroboration, I would estimate the amount spent on peace propaganda at less than a farthing per head per annum.

The odds look sticky. Yet they don't frighten some people. Look at this letter recently received from a reader in Gloucestershire:

"Herewith £1 PO saved on my weekly OAP and saved by the wintry weather preventing expenses of travelling to Oxford to see my wife in hospital."

Here is the confidence that can k.o. Goliath; the faith that peace propaganda will prove to have the longer reach.

True, the cases aren't quite parallel. A single stone slung at a 10-foot Philistine may stop a war, but a single £1 slung at a £11,600 million arms budget won't prevent one.

It's the example that matters. We need a few more sling-happy Davids. Particularly those who can better afford it.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Total since March 11, 1960: £80 11s. 3d.
Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £266 17s. 6d.

that razor other edge, the edge which indicates that indoctrination cuts both ways. It is almost certain that the people of the United States would not have supported any Government which, after the First World War, engaged in yet another war in Europe to assist Britain to defeat Germany. Pearl Harbour was, in fact, a propaganda necessity; without it patriotism was not enough.

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It is not only Communists who undertake the business of indoctrination; any Government that goes to war must induce its people, and its conscripted servicemen to believe in the absolute rightness of their own country in resisting an unscrupulous enemy. This is usually achieved either by atrocity stories, or by letting it be known that attack has already taken place, so that war immediately takes on the name of "defence."

There was certainly a time in the history of wars when "my country" was a good enough slogan; patriotism in those days was certainly enough, but after two world wars, when those tyrannies, to defeat which millions of lives had been expended, were supposed to have been abolished, there must have been many men and women, who balked at the idea of armies newly returned from Europe and the East, fighting yet another war in a country not their own, and in a cause of which they were confessedly ignorant.

It is not so very strange that men without any patriotic fervour for the so-called United Nations war in Korea, were open to persuasion, especially when that persuasion was coupled with alleviation from intolerable conditions. It was, perhaps, not so much brutality as cessation from strain, discomfort and hardship that opened their minds to the Communist message.

These men who were expected to have faith in their cause were also expected to use that monstrous weapon, napalm, which burned men, women and children alive where they stood. They may well have wondered whether the conquest of Korea could be held to warrant such indiscriminate brutality.

If what is mainly needed to make good soldiers is "faith in their cause," then all statesmen must face the fact that it may never again be possible to instil into ordinary people faith in a cause which can lead only to total destruction for themselves and the world.

Ideological wars cannot depend upon patriotic slogans, but must depend upon acceptance of the ideas; clearly ideas cannot be enforced by killing those who hold opposing views. If people have faith in themselves they must and will repudiate this irrational and immoral method.

*WHY THEY COLLABORATED, by Eugene Kinkead. Longmans, 21s. Daily Telegraph,

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DAYTON 6, Ohio, 915 Salem Avenue.

DES MOINES 12, Iowa, 4211 Grand Avenue.

HIGH POINT, North Carolina, 1818 South Main Street, P.O. Box 1307.

NEW YORK 3 (N.Y.C. area only), 237 Third Avenue.

PASADENA, California, 825 East Union Street, P.O. Box 991.

PHILADELPHIA 7, Pennsylvania, 20 South 12th Street.

PORTLAND 15, Oregon, 4312 S. E. Stark Street.

SAN FRANCISCO 21, California, 2160 Lake Street.

SEATTLE 5, Washington, 3959 15th Avenue, N.E.

International seminar

AFSC summer work and study projects are, however, not only confined to work camps. Other projects for volunteers include living and working within neighbourhoods and thereby coming to understand their problems, participation in social service, and work in social service institutions. In a few areas some of these projects are year-round.

There will also be special projects enabling volunteer participation in environmental therapy at Lakeland, Kentucky and Ysilanti, Michigan mental institutions.

Finally, AFSC is to hold one international seminar at Kalamazoo, Michigan, from August 23 to September 12. At a cost of \$75, American and foreign graduates and undergraduates can study particular aspects of the American scene and examine the tensions that cause social conflict and war.

IVS projects

In Britain, International Voluntary Service has now issued its work camp programme for Easter. Projects will be held in France, Germany and Britain. A provisional list of summer projects is also available from IVS, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

The United Nations Association in



Pick and shovel peacemaking in progress at a work camp in Britain. Photo: UNESCO.

Colour bar in New Zealand rugby team

From A. C. BARRINGTON

THE reiterated refusal of the New Zealand Rugby Union to reconsider its decision to exclude players of Maori descent from the New Zealand team, "All Blacks," which is to tour South Africa this year has produced widespread opposition and protest.

A petition has been signed by more than 150,000 people including at least one "All Black," Kevin Skinner, who played in the test matches when the "Springboks" last toured New Zealand. The churches have been unanimous in their disapproval. All the major denominations have protested at the highest level.

Recently the Citizens All Black Tour Association, which has been organising the petition and whose chairman is a prominent surgeon and Catholic, arranged a deputation to the Prime Minister and the Deputy Leader of the Opposition.

Neither of the political leaders was able to give the deputation any satisfaction. The Prime Minister, Mr. Nash, said the Government had not in any way altered its policy, which was to oppose racial discrimination, but he reiterated his belief that the decision to exclude Maoris is exclusively that of the Rugby Union. Circumstances in the world were such, he concluded, that it would be harmful if any action were taken that would aggravate conditions in South Africa.

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Still needed: £2,233.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

However, in a statement after the deputation had left, Mr. Nash did say he had agreed to receive a small delegation from the New Zealand Council of Churches which would submit, for consideration by the Rugby Union, a statement about the tour with particular reference to the effect which the policy of the Union might have on international relations.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Marshall, said more harm than good would be done if the tour were stopped. The organisers of the petition had done some harm in stirring emotions. The Government could not stop the tour. If it were stopped by the Rugby Union it would cause widespread disappointment and resentment.

The Rugby Union itself has remained silent since its original explanation that its decision was out of consideration for Maori players who might be subjected to embarrassment in South Africa.

United stamp issue

The first united stamp issue in world postal history will take place on April 7 when about 70 different countries will at the same time issue postage stamps commemorating World Refugee Year. It is the first time so many countries have jointly issued stamps on a humanitarian theme.

Active resistance . . .

THIS week's news from South Africa is appalling.

Over 50 Africans shot dead by "police" automatic weapons at Sharpeville, near Johannesburg, on Monday indicate what an authoritarian régime can do when a popular resistance movement initiates a powerful action programme. The indignity foisted upon Africans of having to carry "passes" has produced a widespread reaction which is now crystallising into revolt.

The strategy of the Pan-African Congress is courageous and basically sound. It called upon its supporters to refuse to carry the passes, go to the police and ask to be arrested for breaking this law. The jails would then receive those who thus openly declared that they could not co-operate with the Government's policy.

Initially the campaign at Sharpeville appears to have turned to tragedy because the Africans lacked training in non-violent discipline, because the tension was too great for some of them, and this situation encouraged a minority to resort to violence. The outnumbered police immediately feared the numbers of assembled Africans. Result: massacre.

There is much to be learned from this tragedy. But first it is encouraging that the strategy has been not called off, but reaffirmed. This is an act of great courage by a movement whose leaders were at once arrested.

The Prime Minister's immediate statements in Parliament, in which he gave substantially incorrect figures of victims, cannot inspire confidence in that quarter. There is no doubt, however, that the shock of this slaughter has hardened opinion abroad considerably against Dr. Verwoerd's already unpopular Government.

One example of this was the London press on Tuesday. There was no doubt where sympathies lay. Even the Right-wing *Daily Express* and *Daily Sketch* had their virtues: the former reported that "some South African English-speaking newspapers refused to radio pictures of the battle to Britain," while the latter turned over its leader column to one of apartheid's leading opponents, Trevor Huddleston.

The *News Chronicle* declared: "... The prime responsibility rests on the Government which enforces the oppression of apartheid. The Africans inevitably demonstrate because they have no constitutional way of expressing their resentment of the discrimination against them, which, year by year, is increased. . . With every such incident (Sharpeville) the voices that plead for non-violence are weakened."

. . . needs planning

IT is difficult to think of this resistance to pass laws in South Africa without remembering the current action of Negroes in the US Southern States. In many respects it is a striking parallel: a large, downtrodden section of the community has found the strength, after prolonged suffering, to say "no" and to find ways of turning this rejection of action by meaningful social actions into a

COMMENTARY

by

Christopher Farley

Equality who are organising "workshops" in non-violence to train people how to offer steadfast opposition whilst under severe provocation. Already there have been ugly scenes in the South; but there has been no Sharpeville, no rioting. And that good fortune will make the American road much easier.

Some of the possible implications of all this are revealed in a letter to us last week from Richard B. Gregg, the American author of "The Power of Non-violence." He writes: "The Negro non-violent demonstrations in this country are very stirring. I think they will win all along the line. When they get the vote in the South, they will oust all the old dreadfully conservative senators and representatives in Congress, and then the country can progress in many ways. You see, in the Senate and House of Representatives, the chairmen of all the committees are chosen on the basis of seniority. The electorate in the South is restricted to the whites who are reactionary in every respect. So when these reactionary old men get thrown out, all sorts of liberal legislation will at last have a chance of being passed."

"I should have said that there are all sorts of political deals between the reactionary Southern Democrats in Congress and Northern reactionary Republicans in Congress, enough to block liberal Bills which are referred to committees from ever reaching the floor for debate and action. So the freeing of the Negroes will free the whole country in many ways. These are indeed stirring times. All social processes are moving faster than ever before."

Geneva scene

WITH their acceptance last Saturday of American proposals for banning nuclear tests, the Russians have put the pigeon amongst the cats. If Washington's Top Brass and State Department officials fear the propaganda effect of the Soviet move, they might also care to consider what effect their own miserable reception of the Russian offer has on those who sit on the side-lines and watch the giants. Why ever is there all this need in America and Britain to "study" the Soviet acceptance?

When a simple "yes" plunges the Western Alliance into confusion, it is not hard to realise the terrible danger of military pacts. Their purpose is to adopt a negative attitude to a nation or other bloc. When this produces or encourages a negative response the scene is set for a mighty growth of fear and an increase in the size and sheer weight of the blocs. Ultimately the military assumptions and attitudes come to dictate all policy decisions of the member-nations. Anything positive thrown into this atmosphere is so out of place that either the idea or the alliance must go.

ence of these are now coming from an Italian courtroom.

In a remarkable trial this week four men have been charged with the murder of a Sicilian trade unionist, Salvatore Carnevale. The case is alleged to involve the activities of the Mafia—the Sicilian secret society—and has therefore been moved from Sicily to a court near Naples, to avoid any risk of interference.

The presiding judge said last Friday that Carnevale was a Northern Sicilian peasant who taught himself to read and write so as to act as a champion of the rights of the labourers on one of the feudal estates. He opened a branch of the Socialist Party, set up a rudimentary labour exchange and organised labourers in the olive fields. Jailed for a week for leading a symbolic occupation of untitled land, he went on to persuade quarry labourers to strike for better conditions of work.

After being offered bribes and repeatedly warned to desist by men who were regarded as representatives of the Mafia (acting in the traditional alliance between the secret society and feudal interests), Carnevale was shot and mutilated at the age of 32. Among complications in the case is the fact that of five men denounced by the victim's mother, one was soon afterwards found dead in a water tank.

All this in Sicily—part of our much lauded "Free World." Further stark reminders of the miserable social conditions in large parts of the Western world came during President Eisenhower's "good will" tour of Latin America last month. In an appeal to Mr. Eisenhower on February 24, the president of the Student Federation of Chile pointed out: "Two-thirds of the population (120,000,000) live in a chronic state of malnutrition . . . it is a mockery to pretend that this situation reflects the Christian or democratic order for which the immense mass of starved, illiterate and uncultured people, lacking rights, freedom and property—the majority of Latin America—could hope."

The next day at Sao Paulo, the leader of the world's best-fed nation brought this heartening spiritual message to the hungry: "You and I believe that each of us is an inviolable spiritual entity . . . more devoted to the protection of human dignity and love of God than to the mere acquisition of material things. . . . Faced with no other choice, we would choose poverty in freedom rather than prosperity in slavery."

Added Washington commentator I. F. Stone: "At least Marie Antoinette offered cake."

New May Day

THE "Aldermaston idea" is catching on. Several countries are now going ahead with plans for Easter marches and rallies. These will be both an act of protest against the terrible threat of mass destruction which hangs over us each day, and a gesture of solidarity on the part of the demonstrators.

These are the twilight hours; as the age of apathy comes swiftly to a close, there is nothing more important than for men of good will everywhere to stand up and be counted. Such demonstrations will hasten the next phase of social change—massive resistance.

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The *News Chronicle* declared: "... The prime responsibility rests on the Government which enforces the oppression of apartheid. The Africans inevitably demonstrate because they have no constitutional way of expressing their resentment of the discrimination against them, which, year by year, is increased. . . With every such incident (Sharpeville) the voices that plead for non-violence are weakened."

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IT is difficult to think of this resistance to pass laws in South Africa without remembering the current action of Negroes in the US Southern States. In many respects it is a striking parallel: a large, downtrodden section of the community has found the strength, after prolonged suffering, to say "no" and to find ways of turning this rejection of racism by meaningful social actions into a powerful protest which can spread throughout the country, make known the indignities that are being suffered and bring into the thoughts of millions struggles which are all too easily dismissed as "something which, thank God, doesn't concern me."

Social revolutions are not made by accident; they require much thought and planning. People today who are prepared to experiment in non-violence are entering a field of supreme importance to us all. It is a mighty weapon with many uses and many possibilities. We owe a lot to people like the leaders of the Congress of Racial

put the pigeon amongst the cats. If Washington's Top Brass and State Department officials fear the propaganda effect of the Soviet move, they might also care to consider what effect their own miserable reception of the Russian offer has on those who sit on the side-lines and watch the giants. Why ever is there all this need in America and Britain to "study" the Soviet acceptance? When a simple "yes" plunges the Western Alliance into confusion, it is not hard to realise the terrible danger of military pacts. Their purpose is to adopt a negative attitude to a nation or other bloc. When this produces or encourages a negative response the scene is set for a mighty growth of fear and an increase in the size and sheer weight of the blocs. Ultimately the military assumptions and attitudes come to dictate all policy decisions of the member-nations. Anything positive thrown into this atmosphere is so out of place that either the idea or the alliance must go.

The case for neutralism is thus very strong. Add to this the increasing irrelevance of armaments as an instrument of power and you have the shape of practical politics to come: unarmed neutralism.

Our 'Free World'

THE recent visit of the Italian social reformer Danilo Dolci to various countries in Western Europe was a salutary reminder of the unbelievable conditions of poverty and misery which exist in Sicily. Further evid-

freedom rather than prosperity in slavery." Added *Washington commentator* I. F. Stone: "At least Marie Antoinette offered cake."

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Easter has become the new May Day. In place of all the flannel, the outpourings of irrelevant ideologies and outdated dogmas, we have a brand new popular resistance movement which is beginning to transcend national barriers.

It is appropriate that all this happens at Easter. It had looked like the graveyard for us all, but now men are springing up everywhere with new life and we may yet be delivered.

Christopher Farley writes this Commentary in place of Bruce Odspur who will resume his monthly article in our issue of April 22.

Nerve gas—'forget about it'

NERVE gas experiments on British servicemen have been carried out in great secrecy at the Joint Services Chemical Defence Experimental Establishment at Porton, near Salisbury.

This was revealed in the Daily Mail on March 14. That evening a local landlord told a Daily Telegraph reporter: "Few local residents show any interest in the experiments. So many of them work at the camp that when they come home in the evening they just want to forget about it."

Three days later the Secretary of State for War, questioned by Mr. Roy Mason, MP, said in a Parliamentary Written Answer that "for a number of years the Chemical Defence Experimental Establishment has tested nerve gases, producing them in laboratory quantities for testing only."

No warning system saw it!

A US Matador guided missile veered off course on a test firing in January and crashed into the Formosa

Strait between Formosa and Communist China.

An American military spokesman disclosed this in Taipeh on March 14.

It is generally believed that Matador test firings from the island of Formosa are normally made Eastwards over the Pacific; the Strait lies to the West.

Uncommon sense

HOME Secretary R. A. Butler answered questions in the House of Commons on March 17 on Civil Defence.

He told Mr. John Rankin, MP, that there are 1,519 scientific intelligence officers trained and under training in the Civil Defence Corps in England, Scotland and Wales.

He was also questioned by Mr. Konni Zilliacus, MP, about the four minutes' warning from Fylingdales early warning station and his policy of evacuating 12,000,000 people. Mr. Butler replied by

differentiating between "the final warning which would come from Fylingdales" and "the general period of alert which we could reasonably expect in a time of tension."

The key question

MR. CHARLES PORTER, a Democratic member of the US House of Representatives, who inspected the Feltwell missile base in Norfolk recently, said it was clear that the "safeguards against accidental or deliberate nuclear explosions are not strong enough."

According to the Daily Telegraph of March 5, when Mr. Porter visited the base he found the RAF had possession of two keys, both of which had to be used to unlock control mechanism at the firing point for Thor rockets. The RAF should have had only one key and the other should have been in American hands.

The US Defence Department censored his

THIS IS YOUR WORLD

account of the incident from a magazine article that he had prepared. It informed him that the key system was secret, but assured him that immediate action would be taken.

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LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Boycott

I WAS interested in Sybil Morrison's notes on the boycott of South African goods (PN, Feb. 26), and I am sure it should be possible to take it for granted in the Peace Pledge Union that "those who have a conscientious objection to boycotts will receive the same understanding and tolerance as is given to those who have a conscientious objection to war."

If one thing is basic and characteristic to pacifism, surely it must be tolerance. If we do not wish to be violent it is often difficult to know what we should not do and what we ought to do, but I think we should try to make a clear distinction between actions which are designed to cause serious physical injury to individuals and those which are not. I suggest that those which are not so designed are usually acceptable to pacifists who have some experience of the world as it is. So far as the boycott is concerned, our main object is to show our solidarity with the victims of apartheid; we do not expect to bring the South African economy to ruin.

This is undoubtedly bringing pressure to bear on a section of the white community in South Africa and probably cannot be free of some element of spiritual violence. However, unless we keep silent and do nothing, are we not continually coercing our fellow human beings? When an intelligent pacifist argues with a simple non-pacifist the strength of his logic cannot fail to some extent to humiliate the non-pacifist, but none of us would refuse to discuss such matters for that reason.

I arrive at the conclusion that some element of force, or violence if you like, is unavoidable, and we should not worry too much about it. I have not yet forgotten Vicky's cartoon of the two pacifists in tatters arguing amongst the ruins after the explosion of a hydrogen bomb.—A. F. CLARKE, 69 Village Rd., Garden Village, Hull.

Youth direct action

THE Pacifist Youth Action Group has been asked by Douglas Brewood to sponsor his proposed action at Pickenham during the week March 26 to April 2, where he will attempt to obstruct all

out leaflets and hold a supporting meeting on Saturday 26 at Swaffham.

We urge all pacifists to give their support, monetary or active, and any young pacifists who would like to take part will be welcome.—HELEN KENNING, Pacifist Youth Action Group, 5, Caledonian Road, London, N.1.

Operation Foulness

IT has been announced that a radical demonstration will take place at the Foulness rocket base and research establishment (Southend) on Monday, April 25. A large number of people who although sympathetic with such protests are at the moment unable to participate owing to family responsibilities.

These people may feel that they would prefer to do more than simply voice their approval or watch the protest take place.

Why don't they give the equivalent of one day's wage to the organising committee now. They are desperately in need of funds.

Why don't they make April 25 a day of fasting and prayer?

Why don't trade union members attempt to organise token strikes on this day?

There are many more similar ways of showing one's support, and the important thing is not to keep it to oneself. Write about it to your MPs, churches, the local and national press, and above all to the committee itself; it would be a tremendous encouragement to them. The secretary is Ruth Townsend, 22 Inverness Avenue, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.—COLIN SMART, 9 Maldon Court, Bute Rd., Wallington, Surrey.

Catholics and defence

MR. B. J. WICKER (PN, March 18) is not, I think, even correct in his theology. Spontaneous "self defence" by any means at hand is doubtless justified. But prepared and anticipated self defence by a weapon which of its nature cannot discriminate between combatants and "innocent" women, old men and children is quite another matter. It is even worse if such a weapon has had genetic effects on future generations.—MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE, Editor, Catholic Herald, 67 Fleet St., London, E.C.4.

conceal their basic barbarity) are called "conventional weapons" without destroying the innocent, and with no certainty of saving himself.

Mr. Wicker quotes "traditional morality" (what has this to do with Christ's teaching?), "instinct and the stability of society" to "justify" the "right to defend ourselves by force against unjust attack." Instinct has been used to "justify" every evil from lust to murder. How is the "stability of society" to be preserved by a method which destroys it? Is mutual suicide whether by mass bombing or nuclear weapons likely to stabilise or shatter society?

His arguments only emphasise that when we who call ourselves Christians depart from the teachings of Christ, we are forced to face not only the supreme morality of Christianity but its fundamental realism. There is no alternative to war but to practise non-violent love in politics and personal life.—RONALD S. MALLONE, 141, Woolacombe Rd., London, S.E.3.

Power for whom?

IN much progressive thought today there is an underlying (often unconscious) assumption that "the people" are good, and that if they could get power everything in the garden would be lovely.

Gene Sharp uses the phrase "restoration of power to the people" in his article (PN, Feb. 26). The same assumption is behind much of the thought in the "PN" pamphlet "Towards a Non-violent Society."

But let us think of individuals instead of entities such as "the people." Think of one individual we know personally who does not agree with us. Would we wish him to have "the power to influence the course of events?" There are many more of him than there are of those who agree with us.

We do not want power in the hands of the people. Let us face reality. What we want is power in the hands of those who agree with us, or—let us state it bluntly—in our own hands!

The shock of this stops us. Do we really mean this? Or do we mean that we want power in the hands of the people when they have been persuaded to our point of view?

In other words, is our task one of persuading people to our point of view; often-

standard of living and are not in any way ill-treated.

Perhaps it is significant that the Trotskyite group which Messrs. Stein and Zichrony lead contested the recent general elections in Israel and polled only a few hundred votes.—H. PINNER, 4 Kennysland Court, London, N.W.4.

Prisoner for Peace

THANK you for the publication of my whereabouts at Christmas. I have been released from prison a month now and I would like to thank, through your journal if possible, all those people who sent me greetings at that time. I received over 500 messages and cards, many from other countries. They cheered me up no end!—J. BUNYAN, 26 Shaa Rd., London, W.3.

Civil disobedience: A special survey

"MANKIND," the organ of the Socialist Party of India, devotes itself to a special survey of Satyagraha and civil disobedience in its March issue.

It includes excerpts from religious writings, Thoreau's essay on civil disobedience, Gandhi's account of the advent of Satyagraha and his definition of the different forms it can take, reports on Negroes' non-violent resistance in the USA, direct action in Britain and the USA, the boycott in South Africa, and a discussion of the future of civil disobedience.

Contributors include Martin Luther King, J. B. Kripalani, Rammanohar Lohia, April Carter, Earle Reynolds, Hugh Brock, Editor of *Peace News*, and many others.

Copies, price 2s. 6d., may be obtained from Housmans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

TOLSTOY ON MILITARISM

"The military system is not only the ruin of work, the ruin of life; the military system is also the ruin of the good in men."—Leo Tolstoy.

St. Christopher School

I arrive at the conclusion that some element of force, or violence if you like, is unavoidable, and we should not worry too much about it. I have not yet forgotten Vicky's cartoon of the two pacifists in tatters arguing amongst the ruins after the explosion of a hydrogen bomb.—**A. F. CLARKE, 69 Village Rd., Garden Village, Hull.**

Youth direct action

THE Pacifist Youth Action Group has been asked by Douglas Brewood to sponsor his proposed action at Pickenham during the week March 26 to April 2, where he will attempt to obstruct all vehicles entering the base, and if necessary trespass on Air Ministry property.

This is a demonstration for people aged 16-18 years who could not take active part in the last direct action. But those of our members who are over age propose to give

WAR ON WANT. UNDEVELOPED INDIA. ILLUSTRATED TALK BY JAMES HOWARD AT FRIENDS MEETING HOUSE, CHURCH CRES., MUSWELL HILL, N.10, SATURDAY, 26 MARCH, 7.45 p.m.

Details: North London War on Want, 80 Muswell Hill Road, London, N.10. TUD 7396.

PEACE PLEDGE UNION

Election of National Chairman and Nine Members of Council

Ballot papers have now been posted to all members on the live file. Any member who has not received a ballot paper and a special message from Headquarters is asked to notify the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1, at once.

ANNUAL GENERAL MEETING 1960

Mahatma Gandhi Hall

April 30 - May 1

Tickets and Agenda are now ready. Group Secretaries should return the delegates form duly completed and accompanied by 2s. 6d. as soon as possible. Individual Members should apply for tickets (2s. 6d. each) direct to the General Secretary, Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1.

A generous response is earnestly invited to the ANNUAL APPEAL which was sent to all members with the ballot paper.

9 Madison Court, Blue Rd., Warrington, Surrey.

Catholics and defence

MR. B. J. WICKER (PN, March 18) is not, I think, even correct in his theology. Spontaneous "self defence" by any means at hand is doubtless justified. But prepared and anticipated self defence by a weapon which of its nature cannot discriminate between combatants and "innocent" women, old men and children is quite another matter. It is even worse if such a weapon has bad genetic effects on future generations.—**MICHAEL DE LA BEDOYERE, Editor, Catholic Herald, 67 Fleet St., London, E.C.4.**

AS a son of a Roman Catholic I am familiar with the doctrine of the "just" war and the "right" of self-defence. I am also familiar with the Gospel of Jesus, who, by his example, teaching and spirit renounced self-defence, and opposed to the victorious violence of the Romans and the defeated violence of the Jews, the way of non-violent, non-resisting love.

Peter had the most just cause—the defence of our Saviour, but Jesus condemned his drawing of a sword and thereby condemned the use of any weapon by any alleged follower of Christ.

B. J. Wicker (PN, March 18) maintains his "inalienable right to defend" himself "by force against an unjust aggressor." When is an aggressor not unjust? When did any government or nation at war not consider itself defending itself against aggression? This, however, is a non-Christian argument.

Even so, war is the essence of injustice, since it cannot arrest, try, and sentence or acquit those suspected of guilt, but kills innocent and guilty alike, and Mr. Wicker cannot defend himself even with what (to

"I renounce war and I will never support or sanction another"

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"The military system is not only the ruin of work, the ruin of life; the military system is also the ruin of the good in men."—Leo Tolstoy.

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PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
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Peace News, 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, N.1
Discourse: **ANTONY BATES**
"Art—The True Historian"

PICKET DAILY : 8.30 a.m. to 8.30 p.m.

Write to: Peggy Smith
41 Courtfield Rd., S.W.7

FREemantle 2183

SOUTH AFRICA after the Boycott month—?

CENTRAL HALL, WESTMINSTER, Monday, March 28, at 7.30 p.m.

LORD ALTRINCHAM: WILLIAM CONNOR: TREVOR HUDDLESTON, CR: ALFRED HUTCHINSON; SYDNEY JACOBSON: TENNYSON MAKIWAWE (African National Congress):
Chairman: **Canon L. JOHN COLLINS**

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Tickets: Res. 2s. 6d., Unres. 1s.; from: Christian Action, 2 Amen Ct., E.C.4 (CIT 6869); National Council for Civil Liberties, 293 New Kings Rd., S.W.6 (REN 2254); The Boycott Movement, 200 Gower St., N.W.1, or from Central Hall, S.W.1. Doors open 6.45. Buffet available.

Christian Action supported by National Council for Civil Liberties

BRITAIN'S DESTINY IN THE WAR AGAINST WAR

'It is always the race or the nation which does not have the power of violence that is able to begin the exploration of the power of non-violence.'

HISTORY is a curious affair in which, time after time, we see woven together two contrary elements. One of these is the immaterial, dream-like and subjective thing we call idealism. The other element is that hard reality, composed of water, rock and living flesh which we call materialism.

There has always been a rather pointless debate as to which of these elements "really" determined history. May I suggest that, in fact, history is the process of a dialectical relationship between idealism on the one hand and materialism on the other.

I do not mean to start a philosophical discussion here—certainly I am not equipped for it. But this proposition that idealism and materialism are both real forces, independent of each other, but interacting within the framework of history, has immediate political implications.

First I want to discuss the ways in which hard material reality must shape the peace movement in the immediate future. At the end of this article I will suggest the rôle which idealism may play—particularly for the English pacifist.

We have a general agreement that peace is the central issue of our time. But, in a sense, mankind is not ready to deal with this question. We have, so to speak, leaped suddenly into a new age without any adequate preparation.

Throughout the history of the race, violence has played an important rôle. It was usually the final arbiter of conflict between individuals, tribes, and nations. Violence is wrong, of course, and wise men through the ages have more often than not agreed upon this point. But violence is

can. But, because he lacks the power of violence he is able to develop new techniques of struggle.

My first point therefore is that British pacifists must *not* look to either the Soviet or the American Governments for any real lead in ending the Cold War. Precisely because these two nations are so "powerful" they are in reality powerless to act in new ways. The leadership must come from outside either power bloc.

This is why Britain is so very important to the peace movement today. The British military establishment has no real military

3. Let Britain take the lead also in Africa and Asia, appealing to the newly independent states to join in a policy of total disarmament. Let Britain also ally herself openly and vigorously in support of the colonial revolution in Africa and Asia.

4. Let Britain take the lead among Western nations in pooling economic resources under UN control for the industrial development of the under-developed areas of the world.

Now in closing let me take up the question of ideology and destiny. It is in Britain, virtually alone in the West, where I see any real chance for a "Third Force" policy to develop. As an American I am proud of my own country—it has always seemed to me that true internationalism was possible only if we had respect for our own culture first. I expect the British radical to have this same pride in his country that I have in mine, and so it is that I appeal to the British people as a people—and not simply to British pacifists as pacifists.

You have a long and proud history. I know England has done much that is wrong. (After all, the United States was established only after a prolonged and violent struggle against the King of England.) But England has also given the world an example of a people who have learned to live in freedom. Look to your own history, to your own past struggles to find the meaning of Britain's new destiny.

UNIQUE SITUATION

Every mass demonstration that occurs, every storming of a missile base, every invasion of a nuclear weapons factory, is far, far more than a quibble between the pacifist movement and the British Government. It is part of a struggle to build a real mass movement, embracing virtually all the British people. It is a part of the long march of Britain toward a new destiny.

History and material circumstances place Britain in a unique situation and impose on every British citizen unique responsibilities. The world needs, more urgently than ever before, the full measure of greatness which Britain has to give. If we win this

AN AMERICAN VIEWPOINT

By David McReynolds

The writer is editorial secretary of Liberation magazine, a member of the National Committee of the Socialist Party and a member of the US War Resisters' League.

easy to understand, easy for a man to handle in his mind.

As long as you own a gun there is a simple answer for what you will do "if a Hun tries to rape your grandmother." You will kill him. (Unless you don't like grandmother, or unless grandmother tells you to mind your own business.)

But the point is that the gun—violence—is the easiest answer of all. As long as we have the gun we don't have to think. And this is just as true for nations as for men. As long as the United States has a hydrogen bomb there is an easy answer for what we shall do if a Russian tries to rape our grandmother. We shall hit the rascal with a hydrogen bomb. And if I, as a pacifist, begin to have moral qualms about using the Bomb, my fellow citizens will give me little support.

And the reason they will give me little support is because the alternative to nuclear war is pacifism—and that is a difficult, dangerous answer. It demands that people think. It demands they act in a new way. And so the peoples and the Governments of both the Soviet Union and the

or political function. It is partly an expensive gesture toward past greatness and also an earnest attempt by Britain to bear her "fair share of the defence of the free world." But the fact is that whether Britain is armed or disarmed, Russia will not start a war, because it is America which Russia fears and not Britain.

I know the argument that unless Britain has a hydrogen bomb and an army and is part of NATO she cannot influence the course of Western policy. But that is not a realistic argument. For, no matter how you turn it, the fact is that Western policy is made in the Pentagon and Britain has very little influence or control over that policy. Despite all the fine words of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan, England is not a major military factor today.

Furthermore, I believe that many people in Britain know this. They know that

1. Britain's military establishment has little influence on Soviet policy, and

2. In the event of war Britain's military establishment would be totally unable to defend the British Isles. Therefore those

which idealism may play—particularly the English pacifist.

We have a general agreement that peace is the central issue of our time. But, in ■ sense, mankind is not ready to deal with this question. We have, so to speak, leaped suddenly into a new age without any adequate preparation.

Throughout the history of the race, violence has played an important rôle. It was usually the final arbiter of conflict between individuals, tribes, and nations. Violence is wrong, of course, and wise men through the ages have more often than not agreed upon this point. But violence is

is the easiest answer of all. As long as we have the gun we don't have to think. And this is just as true for nations as for men. As long as the United States has a hydrogen bomb there is an easy answer for what we shall do if a Russian tries to rape our grandmother. We shall hit the rascal with a hydrogen bomb. And if I, as a pacifist, begin to have moral qualms about using the Bomb, my fellow citizens will give me little support.

And the reason they will give me little support is because the alternative to nuclear war is pacifism—and that is a difficult, dangerous answer. It demands that people think. It demands they act in a new way. And so the peoples and the Governments of both the Soviet Union and the United States, while they desperately want peace, also want the hydrogen bombs.

The basic problem is that the two major powers, precisely because they are able to develop and produce massive quantities of nuclear weapons, missiles, etc., are prevented from thinking of alternative means of defending their values and their culture.

And they have a point on their side. What, after all, will stop the Russians from invading us if we (in the United States) disarm? Or, from the Russian point of view, what will stop the Americans from invading them if they disarm?

You may ask if "common sense" does not dictate that the leaders of both the United States and the Soviet Union disarm. The answer is yes, common sense does dictate it, but unfortunately common sense has little to do with the way people act. Look at South Africa, for example. Doesn't "common sense" dictate that the whites there end the apartheid policy and move toward an integrated South Africa?

The only alternative, which is clear to all of us, is a terrible and bloody revolt in which the whites will lose everything, including their lives.

POWER AND STRUGGLE

It is always the race or the nation which does not have the power of violence that is able to begin the exploration of the power of non-violence. Thus with Gandhi in his struggle against Britain. Thus also with the Negroes in the Southern part of the United States, who have chosen to pit prayer and the singing of hymns against the clubs and guns of the Southern police.

But no special credit should go to the Indian people or to the Negroes. The average Negro in the South is no more "saintly" than the average white Ameri-

can of Western policy. But that is not a realistic argument. For, no matter how you turn it, the fact is that Western policy is made in the Pentagon and Britain has very little influence or control over that policy. Despite all the fine words of President Eisenhower and Prime Minister Macmillan, England is not a major military factor today.

Furthermore, I believe that many people in Britain know this. They know that

1. Britain's military establishment has little influence on Soviet policy, and

2. In the event of war Britain's military establishment would be totally unable to defend the British Isles. Therefore those of you in Britain are in a much better position to build a mass peace movement than we are in the US.

MASS MOVEMENT

In Britain the pacifist position is also a sound political position and provides the basis for a mass movement. For, deprived of real military power, the British are able to see that the only real defence is peace. But a mass movement is never a strictly pacifist movement. Observe India, where the moral authority of Gandhi was combined with a real political genius and he got a whole nation to adopt a political programme to accomplish certain immediate objectives, even though his own "pacifist army" or Satyagraha units were always very small.

Let me throw out, as the basis for discussion, four points that might go into a political programme for Britain, as it relates to international policy:

1. Whether or not one is a pacifist, one should support the unilateral disarmament of Britain since British arms are neither a deterrent nor a defence and serve only to bind Britain to the reckless arms programme of the United States.

2. In order for Britain to play a strong rôle in foreign affairs, let her make it clear she is not simply "withdrawing" from NATO, but is taking the lead in urging the peoples and governments of Western Europe to join in forming a bloc of Western nations that are not armed and that will form a pressure on both the East and the West to speed real discussion on disarmament. (Let me note here that a disarmed Western Europe would create enormous internal pressures in Eastern Europe and do far more to free those captive peoples than the present foolish and immoral policy of the United States Government in regard to Eastern Europe.)

UNIQUE SITUATION

Every mass demonstration that occurs, every storming of a missile base, every invasion of a nuclear weapons factory, is far, far more than a quibble between the pacifist movement and the British Government. It is part of a struggle to build a real mass movement, embracing virtually all the British people. It is a part of the long march of Britain toward a new destiny.

History and material circumstances place Britain in a unique situation and impose on every British citizen unique responsibilities. The world needs, more urgently than ever before, the full measure of greatness which Britain has to give. If we win this war against war—in which Britain has so crucial a rôle—the prize is simply this: the future. If we lose, then the book of history will be closed upon us for ever.



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MEETINGS

WEEK END CONFERENCE ON "NATURE CURE IN PRACTICE." Margaret Brady, Mary Evans, Michael Fryer, Nina Hosali, Dr. Margery Keay, Dr. Alan Stoddard, C. Donald Wilson, Dr. Frank Wokes. Film: "No Room For Wild Animals." April 22-24, Southlands College, Wimbledon. Details: Nature Cure Clinic (P), 13, Oldbury Place, W.1. WEL 2787.

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A VEGETARIAN GUEST HOUSE in the heart of the Lake District. Rothay Bank, Grasmere, Westmorland, offers comfortable rooms and expertly planned meals, attention to those requiring rest as well as facilities for walkers, climbers, motorists. Large garden with view of the fells. Isabel James. Telephone: Grasmere 334.

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KESWICK—Visit the Lake District for your holiday this year. Highfield Vegetarian House, The Heads, offers beautiful scenery, good food, comfort, friendly atmosphere. Write Mr. & Mrs. Lusby (V.C.A. Members). Tel. 508.

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NORFOLK COAST: Peaceful village, near Broad. Wonderful beach, pleasant countryside. Good food (vegetarian optional), rest, comfort. Woodbine Guest House, Sea Palling, Norfolk. NOR 292. (Hickling 236.)

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HOVE: Pax House, for individual attention and good food. Homely atmosphere. H. & C. Alfred & Malie Roth, 17, Melville Rd., Hove 2, Sussex. Telephone: 70945.

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LOOKING for something unusual and useful? You will find it at the British Peace Committee's Spring Fair and Bazaar. Mahatma Gandhi Hall, Fitzroy Square, W.1. Friday, April 1, 7-10.30 p.m. Saturday, April 2, 10 a.m.-4 p.m.

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FENNER BROCKWAY wishes to obtain a copy of "Non-Co-operation in Other Lands" written by him in 1920 for the Indian National Congress. Replies to him c/o Peace News, please.

INTERNATIONAL TRAVEL. Clause 83 of the International Sanitary Regulations allows objectors to vaccination to enter other countries without vaccination certificates. Further information from National Anti-Vaccination League, 2nd Floor, 26/28 Warwick Way, London, S.W.1.

Sir Edgar's demand puts Macleod on the spot

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP *Chairman, Movement for Colonial Freedom*



THE crisis in Central Africa is coming sooner than was expected. It won't wait for the constitutional review in the autumn. It won't wait even for the report of the Monckton Commission. It is here with us now.

Sir Edgar Whitehead, the Prime Minister of Southern Rhodesia, has a date with the Colonial Secretary, Mr. Macleod. Mr. Macleod has a date with Sir Robert Armitage, the Governor of Nyasaland. Their talks and the decisions which follow will determine the future irrespective of Commissions and conferences.

Sir Edgar Whitehead demands that all British responsibility for white-controlled Southern Rhodesia should cease.

At present the British Government has the power (which, shamefully, it has never used) to veto discriminatory legislation in Southern Rhodesia. The Europeans who govern Southern Rhodesia do not have the right to enter into relations with other territories—to unite with South Africa, for example—without the permission of the British Government. Sir Edgar asks that all such restrictions be removed.

In other words, the British Government is being asked to hand over to the die-hard elements among the 200,000 whites in Southern Rhodesia the absolute fate of 2,250,000 Africans.

The visit of Mr. Macleod to Nyasaland has the opposite purpose. He is going there

VISIT WITH A DIFFERENT PURPOSE with the object of extending African democracy.

He will propose some advance at least of the present constitution which gives the overwhelming African population (Africans, 2,250,000; Asians, 10,000; Whites, 7,000) only seven members in a Legislature of 28. He will advise the release of Dr. Banda.

These opposite tendencies are inevitably breaking the structure of the Central African Federation. It will be impossible to have in one political unit aggravated white dictatorship in the South and expanding African democracy in the North.

opposition to a continuation of the Federation is shifting to the Europeans—to the Europeans in Southern Rhodesia.

There was a most significant article in The Guardian last week (Mar. 17) describing the sweep of white feeling in Southern Rhodesia for breaking away from the Federation and even for uniting with South Africa. Whole pages of the leading newspapers are dominated by letters urging that "White Rhodesia" should "go it alone" or join with the Union. Fewer than one in 25 of the letters takes an opposite view.

The reason for this is stated to be Mr. Macmillan's "wind of change" speech at Cape Town, the concessions won by Africans in Kenya, and the arrival of the Monckton Commission. Mr. Macleod's visit to Nyasaland will add weight to the wave.

What will happen? The usual British compromise? Meet the demands of Southern Rhodesian Whites and of Nyasaland Africans simultaneously?

That would only deepen the crisis. If Nyasaland gained concessions, Southern Rhodesia would be under greater pressure than ever to use its new powers to withdraw from the Federation.

Will Mr. Macleod stall on Southern Rhodesia's demands? Then he would have to stall also on Nyasaland's demands, if he is to keep Southern Rhodesia in the Federation.

And that means he would have to support the very policy he is going out to

MACLEOD'S DILEMMA Nyasaland to modify—the stationing of two battalions of troops in the territory, the retention of Dr. Banda and his colleagues in prison, the continuation of the State of Emergency, and the maintenance of African political subjection. He must realise that this cannot be done without provoking serious resistance in Central Africa and political difficulties in Britain.

There is no way through this dilemma

South Africa, become independent, or continue federation with Northern Rhodesia or a part of Northern Rhodesia. In any of these circumstances the position of the Africans in Southern Rhodesia will immediately become more difficult. Are we deserting them in opposing a continuation of the Federation?

Despite these dangers, the African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia urges the destruction of the Federation. Its leaders take the view that their own freedom will be speeded by extending the opportunity of freedom to their fellow-Africans in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia.

And they are confident that the sweep of freedom throughout Africa, now approaching the Rhodesias through Belgian Congo, cannot leave them isolated. They believe the days of white supremacy even in South Africa are numbered.

An independent Nyasaland? The case against it is economic isolation. Its male workers pour to the copper-belt of Northern Rhodesia for work.

But Africans today do not want to be nationally isolated. Given independence and the opportunity to decide themselves, the people of Nyasaland would welcome wider federations.

They would welcome federation with Tanganyika, with Kenya and Uganda as

FEDERATIONS AFRICANS WANT they become independent with Northern Rhodesia when African democracy is accepted, even with Southern Rhodesia when racial discriminations ends. They would look west to Belgian Congo as it enters on independence.

The problem is not federation. It is political democracy. Apply political democracy, and there is no limitation to the sphere of federation.

As democracy and racial equality extend there is no reason why federation should

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LITERATURE

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LONDON: 72 Oakley Sq., N.W.1. Weekend work camps take place whenever possible. Phone EUS 3195. Work for needy sections of the community. IVS

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m. Deansgate Blitz Site Christian Pacifist open-air meeting. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

LONDON: 8 p.m., 5 Caledonian Rd., N.1. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

THURSDAYS

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Lane (near Green Man), E.10 and E.11. Group PPU.

DEBATING WITH A DIFFERENT PURPOSE

He will propose some advance at least of the present constitution which gives the overwhelming African population (Africans, 2,250,000; Asians, 10,000; Whites, 7,000) only seven members in a Legislature of 28. He will advise the release of Dr. Banda.

These opposite tendencies are inevitably breaking the structure of the Central African Federation. It will be impossible to have in one political unit aggravated white dictatorship in the South and expanding African democracy in the North.

Opposition to the Federation has so far come from the African peoples because of its European domination, particularly by the whites in Southern Rhodesia. Now, with the growth of African political influences in Nyasaland and Northern Rhodesia (still British Protectorates), the

FEDERATION: OPPOSITION SHIFTS



DIARY

1. Send notices to arrive first post Mon.
2. Include Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Friday, March 25

FARNHAM: 7.45 p.m. Congregational Church Hall. Public Meeting on Nuclear Disarmament. London speakers to be announced. Alton & District CND.

Saturday, March 26

LONDON, E.11: 7 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Reunion Concert & Bring and Buy Sale. PPU.

LONDON, W.11: 10 a.m. onwards. Bookstall in Portobello Market (nr. Ladbroke Grove & Notting Hill Gate) Sellers & books wanted. Porchester Group PPU.

SOUTHEND: 2.0 p.m. Top of Pier. Hill-poster march to advertise future activities of Operation Foulness. CND.

WARRINGTON: 7.15 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Buttermarket St. Public Meeting—"Dare We Scrap the Bomb"? Speaker: Dr. Malcolm Pittock, Chairman: The Mayor of Warrington. FoR, PPU, CND.

Saturday, March 26 and Sunday, March 27

WESTON-SUPER-MARE: 3 p.m. Sat. and 4 p.m. Sun. Milford Lodge Private Hotel, Beach Rd. Western Area Week-end Conference on "Towards a Non-violent Society." Fred Moorhouse and Hilda von Klenze. Details from Ron Barnes, 4, Grange Drive, Bridgwater. PPU.

Tuesday, March 29

LONDON, W.C.1: 6.30 p.m. 6, Endsleigh Street. All PPU members welcome. London Area PPU.

Wednesday, March 30

ADDLESTONE: 7.45 p.m. Co-op. Hall. "Why Aldermaston?" Speaker: Prof. Harland. Chairman: George Clark. Walton & Weybridge CND.

Rhodesia's demands? Then he would have to stall also on Nyasaland's demands, if he is to keep Southern Rhodesia in the Federation.

And that means he would have to support the very policy he is going out to Nyasaland to modify—MACLEOD'S DILEMMA the stationing of two battalions of troops in the territory, the retention of Dr. Banda and his colleagues in prison, the continuation of the State of Emergency, and the maintenance of African political subjection. He must realise that this cannot be done without provoking serious resistance in Central Africa and political difficulties in Britain.

There is no way through this dilemma. The Central African Federation is doomed. If concessions are made to the Africans, Southern Rhodesia will walk out. If concessions are made to the whites, nothing can keep Nyasaland in.

We must therefore begin to consider the alternative to the present Federation.

Southern Rhodesia may decide to join

LONDON, N.1: 8 p.m. 5, Caledonian Road. Discussion with J. Allen Skinner. Pacifist Youth Action Group.

LONDON, E.11: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd. Supporters meeting to discuss plans for Aldermaston March. Wanstead & District CND.

SOUTHEND-ON-SEA: 8 p.m. Labour Hall, Boston Ave. Public Meeting. Canon Collins. CND.

Thursday, March 31

LONDON, S.W.1: 8 p.m. Central Hall, Westminster. Public Meeting. Buffet and Bookstall from 6.30 p.m. Speakers: Victor Gollancz, Stuart Morris, Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Sybil Thorndike. Chairman: Sybil Morrison. Admission Free. Some reserved seats at 2s. 6d. from The Organiser, Peace Pledge Union, 6, Endsleigh Street, London, W.C.1. EUSTON 5501.

Friday, April 1

MARLOW: 8 p.m. Crown Hotel. Public Meeting. Speaker: The Rev. Dr. Donald Soper. CND.

LONDON, E.17: 8 p.m. Friends Hall, Greenleaf Rd. Speaker: Rev. Noel Bruen. Walthamstow Peace Council.

Saturday, April 2

LONDON, W.5: 2.45 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Woodville Rd. "Practical Peacemaking." Eileen Fletcher, Sec. APF, Anita Hicks, IFoR, Chair: Phyllis Nash, SoF, Tea. Discussion. FoR, APF, PPU invited. Details: Stanley Dyke, Sec. W. London FoR, 48, Barnfield Rd., W.5.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2 p.m. Kingsway Hall, Room 32 & 31. 5th Annual Conference of the Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.2: 7.45 p.m. Kingsway Hall. Public Meeting: "Pacifists Must Contest Elections." John Loverseed, AFC, Ronald Mallone, BA. Other speakers. Discussion. Fellowship Party.

LONDON, W.C.1: 3-5 p.m. Dick Sheppard House, 6, Endsleigh St. Meeting for Business and Discussion. "Why Worship?" Rose Edwards. Visitors welcome. PPU Religion Commission.

LONDON, W.11: 10 a.m. onwards. Portobello Market. Propaganda for Peace Bookstall; also children's books and miscellaneous fiction. Porchester Group PPU.

wider federations.

They would welcome federation with Tanganyika, with Kenya and Uganda as they become independent with Northern Rhodesia when African democracy is accepted, even with Southern Rhodesia when racial discriminations ends. They would look west to Belgian Congo as it enters on independence.

The problem is not federation. It is political democracy. Apply political democracy, and there is no limitation to the sphere of federation.

As democracy and racial equality extend there is no reason why federation should not include both East and Central Africa, expanding in the course of time to countries, like the Belgian Congo, previously in different Empires, but now finding their African identity.

This is Africa's future pattern.

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Saturday and Sunday, April 2 and 3

ABERGELE: Gasswood Guest House, Sat. tea-Sun. tea, Week-end Conference. 17s. inclusive. Bookings quickly please to: Llew Lloyd, 25, Derwent Ave., Prescott, Lanes. North West Area PPU.

Monday, April 4

LONDON, W.2: 8 p.m. 16, Westbourne Park Rd. (Porchester Rd. end). Group Meeting. Porchester PPU.

Friday, April 8

CROYDON: 8 p.m. Friends Mtg. Ho., Park Lane. Peace Forum—"Any Questions?" to Rev. Kenneth Greet, Stuart Morris, Hilda von Klenze, Bryan Reed. Chairman: Councillor Harry Robertson. Standing Joint Pacifist Committee.

Saturday, April 9

BIRMINGHAM: Annual General Meeting, Midland Institute, Paradise St. Motions to: Les Mallocks, 91, Farren Rd., Birmingham 31. Priory 4918. West Midlands Area PPU.

ALDERMASTON MARCH 1960

Important preliminary meeting for

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IAN DIXON

"Campaigning with PN"

Chair: Hugh Brock

All Peace News readers welcome



1239, Mar. 25, 1960 6d. US Air Express Edition 10 cents

U.S. Negroes

● FROM PAGE ONE

on all Negroes in the United States to boycott chain stores whose Southern branches are refusing lunch counter service to their race.

If such a boycott should take place, one of the hardest hit stores will be F. W. Woolworths, who have 200 branches in the Southern states.

"The boycott could even gravely effect the entire American home market," wrote the News Chronicle's American correspondent.

Chain stores in the South particularly depend on Negro patronage. Negro leaders are also expressing the hope that sympathisers will boycott branches of the same stores in Britain."

The NAACP has also promised to give legal support to every demonstrator arrested. If necessary, there will be an appeal against every fine and the appeal will go right up to the Supreme Court to establish that the demonstrations are legal and right.

White support

The movement is also getting a great deal of support from white students in the North. Reporting in the Guardian on Tuesday, Alistair Cooke wrote:

The Negro college student . . . has acquired a new and heartening ally in the white college student of the North . . . from Yale, Harvard and Princeton in the East, through the universities of Chicago, Indiana and Wisconsin in the Mid-West, and out to Colorado and California, white students have been raising money, mimeographing pamphlets, forming picket lines, and marching to protest

As the Boycott continues plans are made for

SUNDAY PROTEST AGAINST SOUTH AFRICAN SHOOTINGS

THE LONDON BOYCOTT COMMITTEE HAS ORGANISED A MARCH ON SUNDAY, MARCH 27, TO PROTEST AT THE SHOOTING OF DOZENS OF AFRICANS DEMONSTRATING AGAINST THE PASS LAW IN SOUTH AFRICA.

The march will start at Marble Arch, London, at 3.00 p.m. and will go to South Africa House in Trafalgar Square.

This follows a picket last Tuesday outside South Africa House.

During the protest which was conducted in complete silence by about 400 people, officials at South Africa House refused to accept a letter of protest from the Boycott Movement. As Lord Altrincham, Fenner Brockway, James Cameron, Hugh Gaitskell, Donald Soper and other prominent people joined the picket line hundreds of students came down from the London School of Economics to add their protest.

Co-op trade boycott

Meanwhile throughout this month the boycott of South African goods goes on.

Twenty-one Co-operative Societies throughout the country have been operating a full trade boycott during the month. Latest to withdraw all non-perishable goods from its 170 grocery shops is the Royal Arsenal Co-operative Society, London. Well over a million co-op. members are now involved in the boycott.

The Boycott Movement has 160 local committees all of which have organised

meetings and publicity on each Saturday of the Boycott month.

Asked to comment on some adverse press publicity concerning the effectiveness of the boycott, Martin Ennals, secretary of the Boycott Movement told PN last Tuesday:

"I am absolutely certain thousands have been boycotting South African goods over the past few weeks. The boycott has had some very definite effects. People are now conscious of South Africa and the racial problem. The South African Government claims that the boycott has had no effect, but it is considering legislation in the Union to prevent a boycott having the same effect again. The fact of its isolation has been brought home to South Africa."

Christian Action meeting

A meeting to mark the end of the month-long intensified boycott is to take place on Monday, March 28, at 7.30 p.m. at the Central Hall, Westminster. The meeting has been organised by Christian Action to:

1. Draw attention to the needs of the victims of racial discrimination in South Africa, and
2. To emphasise the need to abolish all racial discrimination in this country.

Money raised at the meeting will be for the Treason Trial Defence and Aid Fund established by Christian Action. Canon L. John Collins will be in the chair. Speakers will include Lord Altrincham, William Connor (Cassandra of the Daily Mirror), Sidney Jacobson, Father Trevor Huddles-

ton, CR, Tennyson Makiwane, one of the accused in the Treason Trial and London representative of the South African National Congress, and Alfred Hutchinson who will be flying over from Ghana on Monday. He was also one of the accused in the Treason Trial and has recently had a book published "Road to Ghana" (Gollancz).

UN AND FRENCH A-TESTS

THE Asian-African group at the United Nations has announced its intention to request a special session of the General Assembly to discuss the French Nuclear Tests in the Sahara.

Under the Assembly's rules of procedure, the Secretary-General, upon receipt of such a request, will poll all 82 member governments and find out whether or not they support the request. If, within 30 days, a simple majority of 42 concur, a special session will be held.

By Friday, March 18, favourable responses from 38 countries had been received.

In Paris 90 professors and research workers of Paris University have formally protested against the French tests describing the Government's policy as a dangerous illusion.

Civil disobedience by sea

TWO acts of non-violent civil disobedience are scheduled to take place at the Atomic Weapons Re-

White support

The movement is also getting a great deal of support from white students in the North. Reporting in the Guardian on Tuesday, Alistair Cooke wrote:

The Negro college student... has acquired a new and heartening ally in the white college student of the North... from Yale, Harvard and Princeton in the East, through the universities of Chicago, Indiana and Wisconsin in the Mid-West, and out to Colorado and California, white students have been raising money, mimeographing pamphlets, forming picket lines, and marching to protest against the exclusion of Negro college boys from restaurants and lunch counters in the South.

By all accounts, these insurgents are spontaneously angry young men who have no national strategy and are brash and untried in picketing tactics. But the fact that they exist is a novelty unheard of since the war. This generation of college students is noticeably unstirred by politics.

Despite all the provocations they have been subject to, the Negroes have in general maintained a spirit of complete non-violence. In only a very few cases have there been reports of violent retaliation. Many Negroes are refusing to pay fines, going to jail instead. In this they are following the advice of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) whose three field workers are now active in the Campaign.

One of the best summaries of the campaign's effectiveness was given by Patrick O'Donovan in last Sunday's Observer when he wrote:

It is a massive assault on the rights of private enterprise. It has an undeniable moral strength. It is a rejection of the old, complacent Negro leadership that equated good race relations with an absence of tension. It puts progress before peace. It is extraordinary in its seriousness and fervour.

Racism taught at school

TEXTBOOKS being used in Transvaal high schools "openly preach racial hatred and intolerance and spread untruths about the non-white population of South Africa."

According to a special correspondent of Contact, the South African non-racial fortnightly review, the books are being used to teach the two new compulsory subjects—"Guidance," and "Race Studies."

now involved in the boycott. The Boycott Movement has 160 local committees all of which have organised

Briefly

French Army losses in Algeria totalled 13,000 officers and men killed during the five years of the Algerian war ending last November 1, the French Defence Minister announced in Paris on February 27.

Aldermaston March

IT'S going to be bigger this year. Thousands of PN readers will be marching, many of them all the way.

If you are marching, march with a purpose. **SELL PEACE NEWS EN ROUTE.**

Last year's sale of 3,000 copies was a great triumph for PN supporters. **WE MUST DOUBLE IT THIS TIME.** We need a big well-organised contingent.

Next Friday (April 1) at 7 p.m. an important briefing meeting for all PN marchers will be held here at 5, Caledonian Road, King's Cross, N.1. Ian Dixon, PN contingent-leader on the march, will outline our plans. If you cannot come please write in for details. Sellers are wanted in every local contingent. Supplies will be sent in advance to reach you on Thursday, April 14, the day before the March.

Ian Dixon will meet sellers to the right of the entrance inside Falcon Field, Aldermaston, at 10.30 a.m. on Good Friday morning.

Newly designed PN posters are available free on request and include such slogans as "Disarmament: Britain Must Lead Now," "We March Against All War."

And even if you're not marching, why not help to spotlight this national event by distributing our special number?

Send your offer of help and order for supplies this week-end. Complete this coupon:

P.S.—We need motor scooter volunteers to ferry supplies to sellers on the march.

To Peace News, 5 Caledonian Rd., London N.1.

From.....

I/We will sell PN on the March. Please send information. Send me.....PN Aldermaston issue, at 3s. a doz., post free, to arrive by April 14. (Waterproof polythene container free on request). Send me.....special PN posters.

place at the Central Hall, Westminster. The meeting has been organised by Christian Action to:

1. Draw attention to the needs of the victims of racial discrimination in South Africa, and

2. To emphasise the need to abolish all racial discrimination in this country.

Money raised at the meeting will be for the Treason Trial Defence and Aid Fund established by Christian Action. Canon L. John Collins will be in the chair. Speakers will include Lord Altrincham, William Connor (Cassandra of the Daily Mirror), Sidney Jacobson, Father Trevor Huddles-

Test match boycott

THE Campaign Against Racial Discrimination in Sport announced on March 8 its decision to organise a boycott of all the County and Test matches in which the South African cricket team is to participate this summer in Britain.

The committee of the campaign has taken this decision because the South African Cricket Association (for Europeans only) has consistently refused to recognise the South African Board of Control, which is multi-racial, or to consider its members for inclusion in the South African team.

The Campaign is to issue a statement shortly signed by sportsmen and other well-known people explaining why the matches are not worthy of support and urging people to stay away. Picketing will take place at the cricket grounds where the matches will be played.

End the arms race

□ FROM PAGE ONE

"It is just here that both the Litvinov and the Khrushchev proposals reveal their inherent weakness. Litvinov asserted that 'the problem of complete disarmament presents no difficulties in itself and is capable of solution.' Khrushchev has said the same thing, yet neither of them stated that they would proceed with their plans, and show by example how they would work.

"This is the fundamental difference from the pacifist conviction on the question of total disarmament. If it is right to disarm, and the only sure way to peace, then it should start now."

sponses from 38 countries had been received.

In Paris 90 professors and research workers of Paris University have formally protested against the French tests describing the Government's policy as a dangerous illusion.

Civil disobedience by sea

TWO acts of non-violent civil disobedience are scheduled to take place at the Atomic Weapons Research Establishment at Foulness on April 23 and 25.

On Saturday, April 23, an attempt will be made to sail to Foulness and land on the island. Two vessels have so far been offered. Volunteers, who must be healthy, able to swim, and who must have sailing experience, are called for by the organising committee.

This action will precede the plan already publicised to obstruct the entrance to Foulness Island at 7.0 a.m. on Monday, April 25. The demonstrators will continue their obstruction till they are physically removed by the authorities.

Arrangements are in hand for housing and feeding volunteers who intend to join either of these actions or the vigil which lasts from 5 p.m. on Saturday till 7.30 a.m. on the following Monday. Extensive canvassing, leafleting, a series of open-air meetings are among the activities being organised by the project's two field workers, Will Warren and David Fairbanks, who are now stationed in a caravan at Great Wakering, near Southend. Their address is Poste Restante, Great Wakering, Essex. Secretary of the Operation Foulness Committee is Ruth Townsend of 22 Inverness Terrace, Westcliff-on-Sea, Essex.

Canon Collins is to address a public meeting organised by Southend Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament on Wednesday, March 30. On the platform will be many other prominent people. Tickets have already sold out and other halls have been reserved for overflow meetings. The meeting is to be advertised by a march through Southend, starting at the top of Pier Hill, at 2.0 p.m. on Saturday, March 26.

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THE publication of a book* which examines and endeavours to explain the reason for the collaboration with Communism of large numbers of American prisoners-of-war in Korea seems likely to cause something of a furore in this country as well as in the United States.

The Sunday Times' comment, with its dramatic shout of BRAINWASHING AND BETRAYAL; The Observer, more quietly with THE CRACK UP, and The Daily Telegraph's sober COLLABORATORS IN THE MAKING, all emphasise the misery and discomfort of the prisoners, and the strain of their uncertainty as to the reasons for the war.

The Daily Telegraph concludes its review of the book with the portentous discovery that those who go to war must have faith in their cause, and The Sunday Times unwittingly comes to the crux of the matter in stating categorically that "The average G.I. lacked enthusiasm for the war against North Korea: *neither these nor their allies had bombed Pearl Harbour.*" (Italics are mine!)

These last words are two-edged, and clearly the commentator failed to notice that razor other edge; the edge which indicates that indoctrination cuts both ways. It is almost certain that the people of the United States would not have supported any Government which, after the First World War, engaged in yet another war in Europe to assist Britain to defeat Germany. Pearl Harbour was, in fact, a propaganda necessity; without it patriotism was not enough.

★

It is not only Communists who undertake the business of indoctrination; any Government that goes to war must induce its people, and its conscripted servicemen to believe in the absolute rightness of their own country in resisting an unscrupulous enemy. This is usually achieved either by atrocity stories, or by letting it be known that attack has already taken place, so that war immediately takes on the name of "defence."

There was certainly a time in the history of wars when "my country" was a good enough slogan; patriotism in those days was certainly enough, but after two world wars, when those tyrannies, to defeat which millions of lives had been expended, were supposed to have been abolished, there must have been many men and women, who balked at the idea of armies newly returned from Europe and the East, fighting yet another war in a country not their own, and in a cause of which they were confessedly ignorant.

It is not so very strange that men without any patriotic fervour for the so-called

EVERY year more people seek the constructive work, comradeship and understanding that comes of toiling side by side with others from many lands in international voluntary work camps. And nowhere has the work camps zeal caught on more than in America.

One of the chief organisers of American work camps is the Quakers, and their programme for this summer is certain to prove attractive, particularly to the young.

Activities from June 24-August 19 include: construction work in an Indian reservation by the Tule River, California; building work at a settlement school in two rural mountain communities at Hindman and Decoy, Kentucky; and development of community recreation at an Indian reservation at Fort Defiance, Arizona.

This summer, too, some 70 American volunteers will join camps overseas in Europe and the Middle East, while about 40 additional volunteers who may be in Europe or Japan can apply for assignments.

Volunteers are preferred to have had at least one year at college and are expected to find as much as possible towards the cost of \$135 maintenance.

For high school students

The Quakers are also sponsoring four summer-long work camps for high school students, aged 16 or older.

Applications in the USA for any of these projects should be made to the nearest of the following offices of the American Friends Service Committee:

AUSTIN 1, Texas, 1705 North Congress Avenue.
CAMBRIDGE 38, Massachusetts, 130 Brattle Street, P.O. Box 247.

CHICAGO 7, Illinois, 300 West Congress Parkway.
DAYTON 6, Ohio, 915 Salem Avenue.

DES MOINES 12, Iowa, 4211 Grand Avenue.

HIGH POINT, North Carolina, 1818 South Main Street, P.O. Box 1307.

NEW YORK 3 (N.Y.C. area only), 237 Third Avenue.

PASADENA, California, 825 East Union Street, P.O. Box 991.

PHILADELPHIA 7, Pennsylvania, 20 South 12th Street.

PORTLAND 15, Oregon, 4312 S. E. Stark Street.

SAN FRANCISCO 21, California, 2160 Lake Street.

SEATTLE 5, Washington, 3959 15th Avenue, N.E.

International seminar

AFSC summer work and study projects are, however, not only confined to work camps. Other projects for volunteers include living and working within neighbourhoods and thereby coming to understand

Britain is organising a conference to examine the potentiality of work camps.

It will be held from April 8-10 at the Furzedown Training College, Welham Rd., London, S.W.17. Applications should be made soon to The International Service Dept. of UNA, 25 Charles St., London, W.1.



Pick and shovel peacemaking in progress at a work camp in Britain. Photo: UNESCO.

From most single combats the disparity in size between the combatants. According to reports (1 Samuel, 17, 4) the heavy-weight champ. was 6 cubits and a span tall (about 10 feet), whereas repeated references to the youthfulness of his opponent justify us in placing him in the bantam class.

Naturally the betting was all on Two-ton Golly, but to the consternation of his backers he was knocked out in the only blow of the fight. What they hadn't noticed was that the Israeli Kid had the longer reach.

Another thing they hadn't noticed was his confidence (ibid, 32,37).

I am reminded of this contest whenever I consider the disparity in size between the money spent on preparing for war and that spent on preventing war.

The cost of war preparations amounts to 12s. per week per head of the population. Pending statistical corroboration, I would estimate the amount spent on peace propaganda at less than a farthing per head per annum.

The odds look sticky. Yet they don't frighten some people. Look at this letter recently received from a reader in Gloucestershire:

"Herewith £1 PO saved on my weekly OAP and saved by the wintry weather preventing expenses of travelling to Oxford to see my wife in hospital."

Here is the confidence that can k.o. Goliath; the faith that peace propaganda will prove to have the longer reach.

True, the cases aren't quite parallel. A single stone slung at a 10-foot Philistine may stop a war, but a single £1 slung at a £11,600 million arms budget won't prevent one.

It's the example that matters. We need a few more sling-happy Davids. Particularly those who can better afford it.

B. J. BOOTHROYD.

Total since March 11, 1960: £80 11s. 3d.

Total since Feb. 1, 1960: £266 17s. 6d.

Still needed: £2,233.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Lady Clare Annesley, Treasurer, Peace News, 5, Caledonian Rd., London, N.1.

Colour bar in New Zealand rugby team

From A. C. BARRINGTON

THE reiterated refusal of the New Zealand Rugby Union to reconsider its decision to exclude players of Maori descent from the New Zealand team, "All Blacks," which is to tour South Africa this year has produced widespread opposition and

However, in a statement after the deputa-tion had left, Mr. Nash did say he had agreed to receive a small delegation from the New Zealand Council of Churches which would submit, for consideration by the Rugby Union, a statement about the tour with particular reference to the effect which the policy of the Union might have on international relations.

The Leader of the Opposition, Mr. Mac-